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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna Richardson, Torresdale, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

Volume 14, No. 2 Autumn, 1925

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

FRIENDLY TESTIMONY REGARDING STAGE-PLAYS.

By Ezra Kempton Maxfield, Ph.D.,

Professor of English Literature, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

(Concluded.)

By 1793 the theatre was too firmly entrenched in the American cities for any hope of its eradication by its Friendly foes. In Philadelphia there were now several permanent structures devoted to the theatrical profession, and the city was forging ahead to become the theatrical center of America for a time at least. In 1793 a beautiful new structure was waiting for the yellow fever epidemic to subside to be opened. Perhaps the imminence of this opening was responsible for the publication by the Society in 1793 of a four-page tract, entitled "An Affectionate Caution Addressed to the Members of our religious Society in this City." I cite the following as reflective of the spirit with which the Friends, now resigned to accept the theatre as a necessary evil, seek to keep their sheep within the fold:

> Impressed with a weighty Sense of the Nature of our Christian Profession, and the Manner of Life enjoined by the Example and Precepts of our blessed Lord and his Apostles, and the Light of Christ manifested in the conscience of all Mankind—we judge it seasonable, in the Love of the Gospel, to renew an exhortation and Warning to those in religious community with us, who stand exposed to the Temptation and Dangers of being Captivated by the abounding Inticements of Folly and Licentiousness, which lamentably prevail in and near this city, and particularly the Continuance and intended increase of the Stage Plays, which not only our worthy Predecessors, but Men of Piety of different Countries and Ages, have condemned as destructive to Virtue and Morality, and evidently inconsistent with the Nature and Design of Christianity.

Next comes a liberal quotation from William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," already referred to in this paper, followed by four paragraphs of exposition and exhortation. Then:

We are solidly and clearly convinced that the Stage Plays, and many other corrupting entertainments now practised in this city (which were almost unknown to our Ancestors in this Land) are a daring affront to the Whole Tenor of the Gospel Doctrine, and Precepts of our Testimony remains decidedly valid against them, etc.

In view of a recognized antipathy of the Society of Friends for the theatre, there have been remarkably few publications by it or by individual members devoted to actual propaganda against it. Yet we know that under proper conditions Friends can be quite aggressive. Most of the influence Friends have seen fit to exert has been in the form of counsel to its own membership. Twice in the seventeenth century there were positive Puritan attacks upon the stage: the first was instrumental in nailing up the doors of the playhouses, destroying the galleries, and putting severe penalties upon actors; which legislation was in force throughout the time that the Puritans were in power in England. In 1698 the second attack was launched by the publication of Jeremy Collier's famous "Short View of the Immorality, and Profaneness of the English Stage," following which was a pamphlet war which stirred the echoes. In this, opponents of the theatre widely joined and were answered by upholders of the stage. Friends could easily have taken part in this war of words, but apparently they refrained. Joseph Smith records three anonymous pamphlets published between 1718 and 1746, which may be a somewhat belated contribution to this affair. Note, however, that the writer, or writers, used no names. We have to assume that Joseph Smith had some evidence of their Quaker authorship.

The only other strictly aggressive book, that has come to my hand written by a Friend, is entitled *The Theatre*, and was published in 1884 by Josiah Leeds.[14] Its greatest weakness seems to lie in a typically Quaker remoteness from a first-hand knowledge of the evil that is attacked.[15] One cannot really condemn something that one has slight personal knowledge of, and Josiah Leeds

[14] Lindley Murray published in 1789 a little book of *Extracts from the Writings of divers eminent Authors of different Religious Denominations*, etc. The present author has not been able to examine a copy of this work.

[15] (No doubt Dr. Maxfield would agree that there is an obvious limitation on the first hand knowledge that one may have of a course of action that one considers distinctly evil.—Editor.)

devotes most of his space to a reproduction of a veritable variorum of opinions from the early church fathers down to contemporary opponents, with a modicum of space devoted to a somewhat sentimental appeal to his readers to abstain from that which is evil.

Now testimonials of any sort, removed from their context, are somewhat dangerous. For instance, the stage which is so harshly condemned by Tertullian, Clement, Cyril, and Augustine was quite apart from any production which Josiah Leeds might have found in Philadelphia had he cared to investigate. That the Roman church of his own day offered no objection to stage performances should have been taken into consideration as evidence of this fact. His citation at length of William Prynne in the well-known "Histrio Mastix" is rather amusing, considering the source. By the same authority, Quakers would be condemned forever! As for the testimony of actors and stage-managers, one must take their remarks about themselves with the proverbial pinch of salt.

Aside from this criticism, however, it is a valuable book, not only as showing the truly Friendly objection to the theatre, but as citing many valuable references. For the most part it is a fairly thorough collection of the unfavorable opinions of people in all walks of life as affecting the stage, so that it really is a book of worldly testimony rather than a strictly Friendly one. Incidentally it illustrates the fact that few Friends at first hand have any testimony to give on that score.

Within the last few years there has been a noticeably lessening emphasis put upon special forms of amusements in the various publications sent out from yearly meetings, both in England and America. It may be interesting to make a brief comparison between statements contained in a few early epistles or disciplines and some of the present time.

The London Yearly Meeting of a century and a half ago placed the reading of plays and romances even above the sin of frequenting public amusements; that is, if we may judge by the emphasis put upon the various objects of warning. "Circumspect Walking" is the title given in 1766 to a section of such advices. "Forasmuch as we are called with a high and holy

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Calling to all Holiness," reads the paragraph, "let not the vain and foolish Fashions and Customs of the World prevail over you." Then, preceding a warning against all excess in eating and drinking, the Friendly reader is told to "avoid Sports, Plays, and all such Diversions, as tending to alienate the Mind from God, and deprive the Soul of his Presence."

Further on in the publication parents and guardians are enjoined to *prevent* "Children and Servants from reading Plays, Romances, and all Books that have a tendency to lead their Minds from God, and to oppose or reject the Divine Authority of the holy Scripture, and to introduce Deism, Atheism, and all manners of Infidelity and Corruption, both in Principles and Practice," etc.

Still further on there is a warning against "Places of public Diversions" which seems principally centered about taverns and alehouses, places which Friends should not frequent *unnecessarily*.

The Discipline of 1917 is much less explicit. It merely states, "Guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency, and against such companionships, indulgences, and recreations, whether for yourselves, or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace."

The text of the advice printed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in all Disciplines until well into the nineteenth century is as follows:

> As our time passeth swiftly away, and our delight ought to be in the law of the Lord, it is advised that a watchful care be exercised over our youth and others in membership, to prevent their going to stage-plays, horse-races, music, dancing, or any such vain sports and pastimes; and being concerned in lotteries, wagering, and other species of gaming. And as we are not only accountable for our substance, but also for our time, let them be employed in fulfilling our respective religious and social duties, remembering the injunction, "Work while it is called to-day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work."

In 1910 we read:

> We are concerned that all our members shall refrain from attendance at theatres, operas, dances, horse-races, and the like, and where any cause concern by such attendance, and do not yield to private labor and expostulation, their cases may be laid before their Monthly Meetings, and if further care prove unavailing, they may be testified against.

Also, among the Queries the second part of the fifth question asks, "Do you avoid attendance at theatres, operas, dances, and other harmful diversions?"

New England Yearly Meeting employs more rhetoric than do most meetings, in expressing its sentiments regarding amusements. It enlarges upon the duties of parents in providing rational recreations, and specifies the "enjoyments of rural life and scenery," the "society of well chosen associates," the examination of the "works of creation," and the "pursuits of literature, science, and natural history." In the Discipline of 1889 it discourses upon the amenities of a Christian life, its whole-hearted satisfaction in divine contemplation, its incompatibility with vain gratifications of taste or sense, and its responsibilities as a "training school for heaven." We are interested enough however to find, sandwiched between two long paragraphs, the simple statement found in the Philadelphia disciplines quoted above, "As our life passeth swiftly away," etc.

One would expect to find the views of the Race Street Friends somewhat more liberal than those of the Orthodox group, yet an examination of the Rules of Discipline of this meeting shows no changes until recent years, on the subject of amusements. Disciplines as late as 1888 retain the same wording as is found in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rules at the time of the separation. Disciplines from 1894 to 1918 have this reading:

> As our time passeth swiftly away, and our delight ought to be in the law of the Lord, we tenderly entreat all to submit to its restraining influence, which if lived under will lead us to recognize and avoid the great temptations and immorality surrounding the stage, the corrupt associations and debasing influences of horse-racing, and of lotteries, wagering, or other species of gambling.

It is to be noted that although there is no longer any mention of disunion with the erring member, there is still a recognition of the dangers that may come from an association with the theatre.

New York Yearly Meeting (Liberal) between 1830 and 1872 was more positive in its stand, even than the so-called Orthodox group. Its rules state:

> Friends are not to attend stage plays, horse races, places of music or dancing, or other places of diversion; nor lay wagers, nor be concerned in lotteries, nor practice any other kind of gaming: but should any be concerned in, or give way

to either of these practices, and they cannot, after tender labor in the spirit of restoring love, be brought to a due sense of their misconduct, monthly meetings should manifest their disunion with them, by separating them from the Society.

In 1872 this was revised to read:

Friends are earnestly advised to consider well the ground upon which they stand, with regard to amusements, remembering that it is very important for every one to make a right use of his time, and that all are accountable for the same. They are also enjoined not to attend stage plays, horse races, billiard saloons, public balls, or other places for music and dancing, nor any other immoral or hurtful diversions.

Baltimore Yearly Meeting of 1844 [16] had the following printed in its Rules:

[16] The Ohio Y. M. of 1878 uses identical wording.

Friends are fervently exhorted to watch carefully over the youth, and others of our society, who may be so inclined, to prevent them, by affectionate counsel and brotherly admonition, from frequenting stage-plays, horse-races, music, dancing and other vain sports and amusements; it being abundantly obvious that those practices have a tendency to alienate the mind from the counsel of Divine Wisdom, and to foster those impure dispositions which lead to debauchery and wickedness. If, therefore, any of our members fall into either of these practices, and cannot be prevailed with, by private labor, to decline it, but shall repeat the offense, the Monthly Meeting to which they belong, should be informed thereof, and, if they cannot be reclaimed by further labor, it should proceed to disown them.

The same section in the Discipline of 1902 was given over to very broad advices, in which no specific amusement is mentioned.

It is the earnest desire of the Yearly Meeting that all our members seek to cultivate a wise discrimination in regard to amusements. They should select recreations of a healthful and elevating tendency, and by precept and example discourage attendance at places of unprofitable and demoralizing amusements, especially those whose tendency is to teach false ideas of life and duty. Diversions that cause needless distress to any of God's creatures or that trespass unduly upon our time, cannot be regarded as harmless amusements. Any of our members, therefore, who it may be apprehended are in danger in this direction, should be labored with in the spirit of love, to the end that they may be induced to cultivate a taste for higher enjoyments, and seek pleasure in channels where they would not be liable to spiritual injury.

It has not been practicable at this time to attempt anything like an exhaustive treatment of the subject of the Quaker's atti-

tude toward the theatre; but I do not believe that a larger study would materially change our conclusions. The Quaker mind, both by inheritance and by spiritual tradition, is instinctively antagonistic to the art and the atmosphere of the theatre. Friends have been, and remain, at heart puritans.

So long as the Quaker regarded the world as something apart from his own life, something along with the flesh to be disregarded, he could not conscientiously take part in any of the social diversions enjoyed by other men. If, like Origen and Augustine, one believes that pleasure to the senses is ministering to a carnal body apart from the spirit, then one cannot go to the theatre without committing grave sin. Evidently early Friends did *not* patronize playhouses, for they always speak of them in vague terms, showing the greatest unfamiliarity with them. In the first place, they class the theatre among sports and pastimes that are in no sense related; as if they did not recognize any great distinction or degree among them. The theatre, for example, is invariably classed with horse-racing, gambling, lotteries, dancing, and music; and in the early days, with bull- and bear-baiting. Then, too, there is the monotony of phrasing in all advices from the 17th Century down; the repetition of the same clauses decade after decade, as if no change of conditions obtruded upon the Friendly consciousness. I doubt very much if any committee member entrusted with the revision of any Discipline ever saw a play performed or knew anything at all at first hand about theatres, unless it be in very recent times.

In the beginnings of the Society, however, there were men who must have known something definite about the playhouse. One of these was surely William Penn. In a youthful work, perhaps governed more by the spirit of enthusiasm than would be countenanced by later Friends, he scores an existing kind of drama, hitting at its very structural weakness, as well as scoring it from a strictly puritanic point of view that we know was not inherited from his immediate forebears. I doubt very much if Robert Barclay, on the other hand, had any more extensive knowledge of things theatrical than did his descendants. He makes the broad inclusion, just spoken of, without discrimination, and is soon ended on the subject. His parents were Puritans, it will be recalled.

Of course, the immorality that has been so often charged against actors and actresses would be bound to prejudice all puritans. An admittedly corrupt stage in the seventeenth century, at the very time when Quakerism had its inception, would do much to convey well-nigh indelible impressions upon a group constituted as were the Friends. I do not believe that it was the moral status of the stage and its profession that has been fundamental in influencing the mind of the Quaker, however. Even if actors were always blameless in their private lives and played only in moral plays, the theatre would still have been a shocking place to the Friend. The bright lights, the gay costumes, the worldly music, the unreligious and unsober frame of mind of the audience,—all this would have been disturbing to any Quaker of even a half-century ago. It would not belong in the same sphere as the "plain coat" and the "plain speech." "How many plays did Jesus Christ and his apostles recreate themselves at?" demands William Penn. "What poems, romances, comedies, and the like, did the apostles and saints make, or use to pass the time withal?" And in the same spirit Josiah Leeds, more than two hundred years later, states, "I have thought that no argument more convincing can be offered in opposition to theatre-going, none more likely to impress us with its debasing tendency, than that which may be found in simply scanning the countenances and observing the demeanor of the crowd as they leave one of our play-houses of the popular sort. We are morally certain that these people have not 'been with Jesus,' that they have not been employed 'to the glory of God,' but rather that, walking in the way of sinners and in the counsel of the ungodly, they have cast in their lot with those who 'go down into the pit.' "

I think that this is probably a more fundamental objection than that more naïve one which attributes insincerity to the actor, and dishonesty, in assuming personalities that do not reflect his own native character. It brings out the Quaker as the "marked man," as one of a "peculiar people," as the mystic; and beneath all, the Puritan, the man who believed that every house was the Lord's house and every day the Lord's day, and that every man was his own priest.

An examination of the more recent Rules of Discipline of the

yearly meetings of both sides of the water shows a growing leniency, if not indulgence, toward the matter of amusements and diversions. The old disownment clause [17] has entirely disappeared, and in most cases the word "theatre," or "play-house," or "comedy" does not even appear. The Uniform Discipline, adopted by the various yearly meetings of the Five Years Meeting in 1900 and following years, simply asks: "Are you careful to avoid all places and amusements inconsistent with a Christian character?" . This query is significant as it is the one now applicable to a large majority of the Friends in America. It practically leaves the individual free to decide whether the theatre is "inconsistent with a Christian character."

The proposed query for the revised Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1925) is not less broad and is more positive and constructive: "In recreations are you watchful to avoid those that will prove a hindrance to yourselves or to others, and to choose those that will strengthen your physical, mental and spiritual life?" [18]

Whatever may be our present attitude, as individuals, we must acknowledge that the official attitude of the Society of Friends has vastly changed in recent times. Shakespeare has been studied in most Friends' schools for many years. Eventually we may find Friends in council recognizing the fact that some good plays, acted by performers of an upright life, may be instruments for good to serve where the voice of the preacher could never be heard.[19]

[17] I have run across one record of action by the Philadelphia Friends taken in behalf of a member who violated this provision. The following minutes tell the story:

"At a Preparative meeting held 8th Mo. [18]87 [In pencil] T. Ellwood Garrett has been in the practice of attending the theatre and has published a book, in which he commends the theatre, and theatrical performances, and advocated the attendance of theatrical exhibitions. [In ink]

"He has been communicated with by the overseers and informed that this charge would be brought to this meeting. [In pencil]

"This charge is directed to be forwarded to the monthly meeting. [In pencil]

(Signed) Jos. Elkinton, Clerk for the day

"Minutes of Phil. Preparative Mtg. Read & minuted, 8 mo. 25, 1887."

[18] *The Friend* (Phila.), 2 mo. 12, 1925, p. 388.

[19] I wish to acknowledge the service rendered me by the following persons: Max I Reich, of Fourth and Arch Street, whose most business-like and beauti-

THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA.

By Watson W. Dewees.

At the annual meeting of the Friends' Historical Association for 1924 there was presented an interesting memorial of the past, unique in character, and of considerable historical value. The recent history of the relic was stated to be as follows: Howard W. Taylor, a paper manufacturer of Philadelphia, was the donor. A workman engaged in sorting bales of waste paper, preparatory to its use again, came upon a stout minute book, which seemed almost too good to be destroyed. It was shown to Howard W. Taylor, who rescued it from threatened disintegration, and eventually offered it to the Historical Association. It proved to be the "*Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia*" covering a period from 1845 to 1852.

Before entering upon any examination of the contents of this leather bound volume of minutes, it may be worth while to glance briefly at the circumstances which brought it into existence. We of this generation recall with difficulty the fact that African slavery was once an established factor in social life in Pennsylvania and that even Friends in good standing held slaves. The first protest against the system was the remonstrance drawn up by Francis Daniel Pastorius of Germantown in 1688. The whole story of how this paper was forwarded to the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia and there suppressed may be learned from Whittier's "*Pennsylvania Pilgrim.*" [1]

fully prepared card index of Quaker records has greatly assisted me; John Russell Hayes and Laura Beardsley of Swarthmore College who have been at some pains to enable me to use the library on a holiday; Dr. R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, who has kindly mailed books to me, and Professor A. H. Quinn of the University of Pennsylvania, who told me some facts regarding the early stage in Philadelphia.

[1] It is an interesting coincidence that Howard W. Taylor, before mentioned, is a lineal descendant of the Garrett Hendricks whose name heads the list of signers of the Pastorius remonstrance of 1688.

But the coolness and indifference of Philadelphia Friends of colonial days did not settle the question for all time. Among a tender-spirited people the wrong of human slavery could not be ignored. For long years it continued to crop out in the official utterances of the Society. The future historian must needs trace the peaceable growth of a moral sentiment and the steady pressure which finally led to a real reform. The records of the Yearly Meeting show the steady growth of anti-slavery sentiment. First there were advices with regard to the treatment of African servants, recognition that they had souls to be saved, that parental and family feelings among them should be kept in mind, and finally doubts began to be expressed as to the justice of the system. It was half a century before the views of Pastorius and his friends began to have strong endorsement. By the middle of the eighteenth century John Woolman and others were openly preaching against African slavery, and even invading the South with their message. Then the Yearly Meeting began to advise emancipation, then to insist upon it, and finally committees visited those who did not freely respond to the growing concern of the Society at large. Finally, at almost the same time that the "*Ordinance of 1787*" declared the territory northwest of the Ohio River forever free, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting made the holding of slaves a disownable offence. Thus the Society officially purged itself of the iniquitous system. For long years after that, the members continued to answer a query as to whether they "bore a faithful testimony against slavery." In the period before the civil war, it was a rare thing for a Friend to vote politically to sustain the pro-slavery interests in national affairs.

Gradually there grew in the minds of tender-spirited members of the Society a feeling of uneasiness. Wearing clothing and eating food produced by slave labor did not seem to be bearing a "faithful testimony" against the slavery system. John Woolman, in his travels through the South, could not comfortably accept the hospitality of those who lived upon the unrequited labor of colored servants. Friends began to wish for food and clothing produced by free labor. Finally there was formed a Free Produce Association with a written Constitution and a Board of Managers to direct its affairs.

Recalling our national and local history during the years from 1845 to 1852 there were many things calculated to stir the public interest and stimulate the tender consciences of those who were chafing under the legal support given to the slave system. Friends claimed to be a law-abiding people, but they felt a degree of sympathy with those who refused to obey what they regarded as a wicked law. Levi Coffin's "Underground Railroad" was in active operation in the middle west, helping hundreds of escaped slaves on their way toward Canada. Isaac T. Hopper and others were doing the same work in and around Philadelphia. Thomas Garrett, a Friend of Wilmington, Delaware, for doing the same in that locality had been victimized in a United States Court by a series of cumulative fines which reduced him to absolute poverty. Harriet Beecher Stowe at her Cincinnati home was accumulating the material which presently appeared serially in the *National Era* at Washington, D. C., and which, when republished in book form as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was a phenomenal success. Even Westtown School, the very center of conservatism, broke all rules against fiction and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was read aloud from the governor's desk in the boys' Collecting Room. The Henry Clay compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, further increased the discontent, and when Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts, appeared in favor of these measures, Whittier's poem "Ichabod" voiced the public condemnation and stung Webster to the quick. Whittier's short residence in Philadelphia had ended soon after the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, and there was now no place in Philadelphia for holding anti-slavery meetings. Kidnapping free colored people or escaped slaves and selling them south of Mason and Dixon's line was a profitable business, and public sentiment was continually wrought to fever heat by occurrences of the kind. Christiana was a quiet Quaker community within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. A number of colored people resided in that neighborhood, and these had banded together for self-protection. A raid of slave owners led to violent resistance, one man was killed and others injured, and the United States sent troops, ostensibly to preserve order, in a most peaceful, quiet community. Two free

colored women in Chester County were kidnapped and carried into Maryland, a citizen who tried to rescue them was killed. The women proved their freedom and eventually returned home, but such occurrences stimulated the anti-slavery sentiment of the community.

It was in an atmosphere surcharged with currents and cross currents of this kind that some Friends were moved to draw together and form "*The Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia.*" It is time to return to the old volume of minutes. We have no information as to the membership back of these managers. A glance at the names of those who served during the period 1845–1852 is suggestive and illuminating.

Samuel Allinson. Remembered as a public-spirited resident of Yardville, New Jersey, much interested in matters of public welfare.

Samuel Alsop. A well-known educator, a teacher at Westtown, 1853–1860; author of mathematical textbooks; who at one time conducted a private school for boys at Delaware Water Gap.

Theophilus Beesley. One of the younger men on the management, in later life a resident of Germantown.

Marmaduke C. Cope. Widely known in business, financial, and philanthropic circles.

John Farnum. A business man in lower Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, interested in manufactures.

Edward Garrett. Probably a member of Twelfth Street Meeting, and an active anti-slavery Friend.

Israel H. Johnson. A member of Southern District, later of Arch Street Meeting; much used in Society affairs; outlived most of his associates in the Free Produce Movement.

Enoch Lewis. A man of strong character; served as teacher at Westtown at various times between 1799 and 1833; wrote "*Plane and Spherical Trigonometry,*" and other works; was very pronounced in his opposition to slavery.

Abraham L. Pennock. A resident of Delaware County, much used in the management of the Free Produce Association.

Elihu Pickering. One of the teachers in the early days at Westtown, probably a resident of Philadelphia.

Samuel Rhoads. A citizen of Philadelphia, well known in his day; an ardent supporter of the anti-slavery movement; secretary to the managers.

Richard Richardson. Lived on Arch Street and was prominent in the work of the Society of Friends.

George W. Taylor. In some ways the best known and most active worker among the managers. He kept the Free Produce store somewhere near Fifth and Race Streets. His last days were spent in or about West Grove.

Thomas Wistar, Jr. He resided a little way north of the city limits, was a member of Abington Quarter, and an indefatigable worker in whatever his hands found to be done. After the Civil War his chief interest was working for the Indians. He was often in the far west. The writer heard him say that he had travelled more than a hundred thousand miles while engaged in Indian work.

It was on the 20th day of the Ninth Month 1845 at the home of one of their number, Elihu Pickering, that the managers held their first meeting and established their legal standing by entering on their minutes a portion of the Constitution under which they held their appointment. The problems which confronted them were varied and complex. They entered into correspondence with Thomas Clarkson of England, the historian of the Slave Trade, so as to profit by the experience of others. They sent an agent through the South to hunt for cotton grown by free labor. They sought in the West Indies for sugar which had no taint of slave labor. They bargained with a firm to export free products to Europe, but were troubled to find the Association must guarantee the dealer against loss. They must have met with some degree of success, for the store which they established continued in business down to the days of the Civil War and the downfall of slavery. To this generation this minute book is simply evidence of the effort of men of tender conscience who wished in all sincerity and truthfulness to bear a " faithful testimony " against slavery.

THE SUMMER MEETING.

The annual summer pilgrimage of Friends' Historical Association took place Fifth Month sixteenth, 1925. The objective was the old Friends' Meeting House at Woodbury, New Jersey. As usual in recent years, the weather was friendly and a happy journey through the country-side was the auspicious prelude to an interesting occasion.

George Vaux, Jr., as president, and Charles F. Jenkins, as vice-president, took charge of the meeting in the old meeting house. Warner Underwood, a member of the meeting, gave some interesting facts touching its early history. He emphasized especially the efforts to promote school education among the children of Friends.

Frank H. Stewart (not a Friend), President of the Gloucester County Historical Society, spoke *ex tempore* on the early history of the county. He took the commonly known facts for granted and dwelt largely upon interesting items of traditional and personal interest.

Just a few notes on Woodbury Quaker history may be mentioned in this account for the help of those unfamiliar with the subject.

The Fenwick Quaker colony at Salem, in 1675, proved to be the entering wedge for what was a very important element in the settlement of West Jersey. John Wood and others of the name settled on what we now call Woodbury Creek in 1683,—naming the stream from their own name and Bury, in England, from whence they came. They started the first Friends meeting in their locality. Others joined them and the settlement spread inland. The present site was selected in 1715 and a portion of the house now in use was erected. It survived the vicissitudes of the Revolutionary War, having a full share of romance and tragedy.

After the historical program, those present adjourned to their box suppers and to the customary postlude of Quakerly confabulation.

An interesting and appropriate by-product of the meeting came to light later. The ancient shutters, closed for nearly a century, remained open the following First-day, and Friends of the two branches worshipped in Friendly unity. It is to be hoped that this salutary "reversion to type" may become the established way of life at Woodbury.

In connection with Woodbury Quaker history see *frontispiece* above.

"TO THE COUNCIL OF OFFICERS" BY GEORGE FOX.

In a recent issue of the BULLETIN (13:78 ff.) I argued from internal evidence for the authenticity of the essay entitled "To the Councill of Officers of the Armie and the Heads of the Nation, and for the Inferior Officers and Souldiers to Read." It will be remembered that it was printed without date, place or imprint, that its attribution to George Fox is based upon the signature F. G. and upon the fact that the copy in Friends Reference Library, London, was endorsed in pencil at an unknown date "G. F. 1659" and bound and indexed (it is said by Joseph Besse) as the work of

George Fox, and that recently on account of its somewhat militant tone some writers on Quakerism have called its authenticity in question.

Norman Penney has kindly sent me an interesting piece of early external evidence which he has come upon from an unexpected quarter and which fully supports the traditional authorship of the paper. The reference is in a letter of 23 November, 1680, from John Pennyman to Ambrose Rigge and is therefore of a date within twenty-one years of the publication referred to and in correspondence between persons who were both in close touch with Friends at that earlier date. The words "Chief Leader G. F." exclude the conjecture that George Fox the Younger is meant. The extract is quoted from "*Short Account . . . John Pennyman,*" London, 1696, p. 127, and is as follows:

"Tis much that you that take upon your self to be a Teacher of Others, and an Instructor of Youth, should be so Unsavoury in your Words as proceeded from thee this Day in (thy Sermon) calling a sober Person an Unclean Spirit and a Nasty Spirit: I confess when I heard the latter Words, it put me in thoughts that it was probable thou hadst learned such Language from they Elder Brother G. Fox, who in days past, in his Paper to the Council of Officers then in Power, (when Oliver and Richard were gone off the stage) tells them what a Sincerity was once in the Nation, and what a Dirty Nasty thing it would have been, to have talked of a House of Lords, etc. I say the remembrance of these Words of your Chief Leader G. F. made me think 'twas possible thou mightst learn them of him: For satisfied I am, few Schoolmasters whom you call Heathen, would teach their Scollars such Dirty Nasty Words. Wherefore first learn a Bridle to thy own Tonge, before thou take upon thy self to be a Teacher of Others, (especially in Religious Matters) for till thou hast first learned that Lesson, all thy Religion, Preaching and Praying, is in vain. Take Warning, and Repent, lest thou perish with the Uncircumcised." J. P.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

GEORGE FOX'S NEW TESTAMENT IN DUTCH.

A recent gift to the increasingly important collection of Friends' Historical Association is the Dutch New Testament owned by George Fox and carried by him through Holland on his tour in Europe in 1677. His companions were William Penn, Robert Barclay, John Furley, William Talcott, George Watts, George Keith and his wife and Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret Fell Fox and the step-daughter of George Fox. Probably others accompanied the party.

This Testament came from the library of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite of London, and was purchased from the Executors of his estate by the late Joshua L. Baily, of Philadelphia. It was exhibited by the owner at our meetings in 1910 and 1911 and is now presented to this Association by his sons. The little book measures two and five eighths by four and one half

inches, and is about one inch in thickness. Its type is beautifully clear and the printing was done in Amsterdam in 1637.

George Fox did not speak Dutch. Quite possibly William Penn was familiar with the language, through his Dutch mother, Margaret Jasper. But there were a number of Friends named as interpreters for the party; two of these, John Claus and John Roeloffs, were resident in Amsterdam, and Benjamin Furley, father of John Furley of Colchester, was of Rotterdam, where his famous library was well known. Several of these men accompanied Fox throughout his journey. George Fox was accustomed to make very free use of the New Testament in all his preaching, and this copy was doubtless used for ready reference to aid his interpreter. It bears his familiar signature on the last fly-leaf—"G: ffs: Book." [Facsimile in BULLETIN, 3 (1910): 156.]

J. B. Braithwaite had the little book handsomely rebound, much like the original. In 1914 the Quaker binder in London, William Cramp, reported to the then Assistant Librarian at Devonshire House, London, M. Ethel Crawshaw, that he had preserved the original cover. This was sent over by her to Joshua L. Baily and accompanies the gift. The old cover had a pair of brass clasps, one of which is still perfect.

Accompanying the Testament is a scrap of the handwriting of George Fox; a portion cut from a larger sheet in disconnected words, but undoubtedly genuine. It was presented by Thomas Thompson, [the father of the scientist, Silvanus Thompson,] of Liverpool, to Thomas Mounsey of Sunderland, in 1842. From the Mounsey family it passed to the Backhouses, and from that family to Devonshire House, where it was obtained by Joshua L. Baily in 1907.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR THE TERCENTENARY SUPPLEMENT.

As in the case of the two previous volumes of the Cambridge *Journal of George Fox*, the Editor, Dr. Norman Penney, is preparing additional notes of amplification and correction for the *Short Journal and Itinerary Journals*, commonly called the Tercentenary Supplement.

The former notes were printed only in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London) but, through the courtesy of Norman Penney, the present notes are to appear also in the BULLETIN. This arrangement will be of value to readers of the BULLETIN, and not inappropriate since it was Friends' Historical Association that sponsored the publication of the Tercentenary Supplement.

FIRST INSTALMENT.

1. Page 331. Further information respecting Richard Whitpain appears in *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, 9 (March, 1924): 46. His sons, Zachariah (1665–1693) and John, came to Philadelphia

about 1686. The father had built for Zachariah a "great house 60 foot in breadth and 56 foot in depth," on the east side of Front Street, below Walnut. William Penn wrote in 1687: "Taking into consideration the great expenses of Richard Whitpain to the advancement of the Province, and the share he taketh here [in England] on all occasions for its honor, I can do no less than recommend to you for public service his great house in Philadelphia, which, being too big for a private man, would prove you a conveniency above what my cottage affords." It is known that in 1701 and in 1704 "the great front room" in Whitpain's house, then in the tenure of Joseph Shippen, was occupied by the Assembly. At the time of Richard Whitpain's death in 1689, he owned 7,000 acres of land in the Province. Wissahickon Creek was at first called Whitpains Creek. Mary Whitpain (p. 337) was his wife and widow.

2. Page 327. On the authority of Sophia Hume (*c.* 1702–1774), a prominent Minister, we are told that "Edward Haistwell, who was once said to be a servant to George Fox, married a rich Merchant's daughter and was afterwards esteemed very rich, but running into Grandeur he, among other Things, had Pictures hung up in his House, at the sight of which, William Edmundson was so wounded that he weightily said thereon: 'Surely the Lord will visit for these Things.' Some time after a Hand turn'd against this rich Man, so that instead of his own saying he would leave off Trade when he had arrived to four Hundred Thousand Pounds, his Bills were returned upon him, and he fell short with his Creditors, ending his days in that State."—*Extracts from Divers Ancient Testimonies*, London: Luke Hinde, *circa* 1756. Sophia Hume seems rather hard on Haistwell. Apparently he did not lose caste with Friends. His name appears among "noted Friends" present at London Yearly Meeting 1704 (Kelsall, *Diaries*, 1: 25, 30), at which meeting he offered £25 toward some publication fund. There is no indication in the record of his death which would imply any breach of his Friend-ship.—Search has been made in vain for any other reference to Edmondson's "weighty" words.

3. Pages 264, 376. Simon Clement was an uncle of Hannah (Callowhill) Penn. When Pickworth, ex-Quaker, in his *Defence*, 1734, referred to the closing days of William Penn, and averred that he died in Bath in a condition of lunacy (p. 5), Clement signed a certificate that Penn's illness was a palsy and that he died at his own home at Ruscombe; he also gave "a description of the dispensation of Divine Providence which terminated his earthly career" (Armistead, *James Logan*, 1851, p. 72). Hannah Penn depended much upon him for help in many things (*ibid.*, p. 74), and James Logan wrote a long letter to Clement from Philadelphia, 3 mo. 17, 1729, giving an account of his illness (*ibid.*, p. 105). In the sale-catalogue of books belonging to the Penn family, dated 1872, there are two items by Clement in manuscript, viz. "Journals of Travels to Vienna, Hungary, and other Eastern European places in 1710 and 1715," and a treatise entitled, "Maxims of true Spiritual Religion," etc.

4. Page 349. There is evidence that the Robert Langhorne of the first line of the note 205.1 is the same as the man mentioned later who "cut his own throat being Lunatick." In Pickworth's *Charge*, 1716, p. 298, he gives a list of moral offenders including Langhorne, and a list of offences including "another cut his own Throat."

5. Page 351, note 211.1. The Friend of Devonshire House who wore a green apron was Susanna Row (1719–1804). In an article in *The British Friend* for 1851, p. 227, we read: "The green apron has been nearly if not wholly laid aside. There was here and there an ancient woman who used it within the last ten years," which brings the probable date of disappearance down to a later period than that implied in the note.

6. Page 367, note 245.2. For *city* read *country*. Lüneburgerheide is the name of a vast barren stretch of moorland. *Heide* = Heath.

7. Page 320, note 107.2. Amelia M. Gummere, the editor of the Rancocas edition of the *Journal of John Woolman*, 1922, draws attention to the note on Josiah Ellis. "Josiah Ellis married, for his third wife, 7 mo. 16, 1697, Mary, the daughter of William Adams, of Monmouth, and widow of Thomas Wilcox, goldsmith, of the Savoy. He had many children and grandchildren, all his wives having left descendants. Sarah Sawyer may have been Ellis's second wife. His son Benjamin came to America and married Mary Abbott in 1720, and their daughter Sarah married John Woolman in 1749."

MARKING HISTORIC SITES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued.)

The good work of marking historic sites is being continued under the leadership of Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. The following record is supplemental to the list published in the last Bulletin, Volume 14, Number 1.

Shippensburg. This historic old frontier town, founded by Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, was marked with the usual bronze tablet fastened to a native, time-stained, dressed stone, on the municipal lot, adjoining the Council House, on the north side of Main Street. The marker was unveiled 6 mo. 6, 1925.

Birthplace of Indian Hannah. This marker in memory of the last of the Delaware Indians in Chester County was unveiled 9 mo. 5, 1925, about three miles east of Kennett Square, and 410 yards north of the Baltimore Pike. Indian Hannah was born near the spot in 1730 on the land of the Quaker Assemblyman, William Webb. She died in 1802.

Edelman Mill Marker of the Indian Walk. This marker is at a point near which Edward Marshall and his associates passed the second morning of the famous Indian Walk. The marker was unveiled 9 mo. 19, 1925, at Edelman's Mill, near Kreidersville, on the old road from Bethlehem to Mauch Chunk.

NORTHAMPTON MARKER OF THE INDIAN WALK. This marker was unveiled 9 mo. 20, 1925, at Northampton, at the eastern approach to the bridge, on the concrete road from Bath. It is about three quarters of a mile from the site of the old Indian town of Hockendauqua, of the noted chiefs Lappawingo and Tishcohan. The walkers slept the first night about a half mile from this Indian town.

DOCUMENTS.

WASHINGTON AND FRIENDS.

The following correspondence and the newspaper item tell their own story. The letter signed by President-elect Washington was written shortly before he started north from Mount Vernon for his first inauguration, which took place in New York City.

William Hartshorne was a native of Alexandria, Virginia, and was Treasurer of the Potomac Company of 1785–1812, that is, the second Potomac Company. Strawberry Hill was his place in Fairfax County just outside of Alexandria.

The feeling of certain classes in Philadelphia against Friends at this period was probably due to the fact that Friends had not supported the patriot cause more ardently during the Revolution, especially the military measures.

LETTER OF WILLIAM HARTSHORNE.

(The original of the following letter is in *Papers of George Washington*, volume 242, in Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

STRAWBERRY HILL, March 28th, 1789

General Washington,

As it seems to be the general opinion that you will comply with the wishes of your Countrymen and accept the presidency, I take the liberty of laying before you an extract of a letter I recd. lately from a relation of mine in Philadelphia, and as it concerns a numerous people in that City, who suffered much in their propperty, had their persons insulted and were in danger of their lives from the outrages of a Mob at the last general illumination, I have no doubt you will pay that attention to the subject which it seems to deserve.

"We are now contemplating the proposed advantages of foederal measures; at the same time we are led to anticipate with equal concern, the effect which may probably take Place, when General Washington passes thro' the City, at which time an illumination is intended; when perhaps some innocent acquaintances may immediately if not eventually fall a victim to

the unqualifyed rage of a mob, how contemptible Government appears—doubting their ability to restrain their fury? which a timely exertion would appease. The worst of Malfactors have as little dread of the Punishment annexed to the perpetration of their heinous offences, as many of us have to expect from the secret and open designs of our Neighbours whom we never offended at all, such is our envied situation in the City of Philadelphia—unhappy City! Thy natives who ought to respect will learn to deprecate thee."

It is scarce necessary to add that this is from one of the People called Quakers and as I have not heard the design of illuminating in Philadelphia was laid aside, thought it my duty to lay this information before you, and at this time (tho' it may appear premature) least it should be too late to answer any purpose—I can only say this address is intended to do good, which I believe is the best apology I can make for the freedom of it.

That the Lord of the Universe may take you under his holy Protection and assist you with his Wisdom to govern this people—and in his own time take you to himself is the prayer of

Your very respectful Friend,

Wm. Hartshorne.

Letter of George Washington.

(The original of the following letter is in The Roberts Collection of Haverford College.)

Mount Vernon, April 1st, 1789.

Sir,

As it seems that it will be my unavoidable lot to be again brought into publick life, however contrary to my inclinations, I must prepare myself to meet with many occurrences which will be painful and embarrassing;—but I can truly say that few events would distrefs me more than the realizing of the apprehensions of so respectable a body of my fellow Citizens as the Quakers of Philadelphia,—as mentioned in your letter of the 28th Ulto.—

If I must go on to New York, and my wishes & inclinations were consulted on the occasion, they would lead me to proceed in as quiet & peaceable a manner as possible.—But, situated as I am at present, and knowing nothing of the intentions of the people respecting my passing through the several towns, more than what the publick papers inform me of—and these may be conjecture, I do not see how I can, with any degree of propriety or delicacy, interfere, at this moment, to prevent the ill effects which are feared from an illumination of the City of Philadelphia.—Could any way be pointed out to me by which I might ward off the evil dreaded by the Quakers, I would, with peculiar pleasure, take every proper step to prevent it;—for altho' I have no agency in these matters, yet nothing would be more painful to me than to be the *innocent* cause of distress or injury to any individual of my Country.—

I must beg you to accept of my best thanks and warmest acknowledgments for your kind wishes for my happiness—and believe me to be—with very great esteem & regard

Sir,

Yr Most Obedt. Hble. Servt.

Go. WASHINGTON

MR. WILLIAM HARTSHORNE.—

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT.

Account of the celebration when Washington passed through Philadelphia on the way to his inauguration at New York, 4 mo. 20, 1789.

During the day there were repeated discharges of artillery and at night fire-works. "The whole was conducted & concluded in the utmost order & harmony.—We are happy to add, that in compliance with the request of the Mayor & Corporation, the decoration of a vessel in the Del., opp. to Market St., was substituted for the illumination of the city, which some of the inhabitants had in contemplation."—*Freeman's Journal* (Phila.), Apr. 22, 1789. Copy in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

AN ENGLISH FRIEND ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.[1]

William Forster[2] (1747–1824), schoolmaster, of Tottenham near London, expresses himself thus, in a letter to his sister, Elizabeth Forster, of Birmingham, dated 2 mo. 20th, 1775:

"I shall send with this some of Cous. [Cousin] M. Birkbecks Letters, which beg thou'lt return p[er] first Oppor[tunity]: thou'lt see by his last he does not approve of the Congress[3] or its measures & is severe in his Remarks on them, in which I will not join him. I think they acted constitutionally, and their Resolves are so, & whatever violent measures they have engaged in, they have been forced into by our arbitrary illegal proceedings; in short, I have the honor to be of Chatham's and Camden's Opinion, and tho' I think we never were engaged in a more unchristian wicked exertion of despotic power than at present, yet I am much pleased to find there are honest men in both Houses who will exert themselves for the Welfare of their Country, & shew a venal and corrupt Ministry that their whole Proceedings must every way terminate to their Confusion, and in this Opinion I am also rejoiced to find most of our valuable Friends.

"Thou hast, I suppose seen Wilkes and Johnston's speeches, also the Debates in the upper House, where the sly Mansfield so jesuitically defends his

[1] From original letter in the possession of Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, County Clare, Ireland, 1924. Transcript supplied by Norman Penney.

[2] This W. F. was father of William Forster, the minister.

[3] The First Continental Congress, held in Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia.

Cause; where Lyttleton prostitutes his abilities in defaming and attempting to ridicule a brave People; where Gower, Grafton, & Suffolk impose upon the People in setting Affairs in a false Light; where the whole Bench of hireling Bishops, always alarmed at Abridgment of any of their privilidges, appear asleep while the Liberties of others are destroying, except in giving their Voice for it; where Chatham, Camden, Rockingam, & Shelburne expous [expose] them & explains their Intentions, their proceedings and the futility of their attempts. I can assure thee from undoubted authority, that there are thirty Transports in the River for the sole purpose of carrying Soldiery, sôme of which are to load in Dublin, besides the men of War. I sincerely hope, they'll desert as soon as they land, or if they are so unhappy as to be so foolish to engage with their Friends they may not conquer. But perhaps too much already of this."

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS.

Friends Intelligencer, 6 mo. 20, 1925, contains an account of Friends House, the new headquarters planned for The Society of Friends in London. There is also an illustration showing how the house will appear when completed.

The 125th anniversary of the opening of the Friends' School at Gwynedd was celebrated on 5 mo. 23, 1925. *Friends Intelligencer,* 6 mo. 6, 1925, contains an interesting account of the reunion of teachers and pupils, and photographs of the School and the entrance to the grounds.

Friends Intelligencer, 6 mo. 13, 1925, gives a photograph of Third Haven Meeting House near Easton, Maryland. This is said to be the oldest frame Meeting house or church now standing in this country.

In *Friends Intelligencer,* 8 mo. 22, 1925, Walter C. Longstreth makes a strong plea for the use of the Friends' burial ground, at Unity and Waln Streets, Frankford, as a playground for the children of the neighborhood. Incidentally he gives a brief history of the Meeting started in 1683, and also a list of other Friends' burial grounds already in use as playgrounds.

The Friend (Philadelphia), 8 mo. 6, 1925, contains an interesting account of the "Meeting for Sufferings Library" at 304 Arch Street, which Max I. Reich has been engaged in cataloguing and classifying under the direction of the Book Committee of the Representative Meeting.

Crook Meeting House, Kendal, has recently been torn down and the materials sold. *The Friend* (London), 7 mo. 17, 1925, gives an interesting account of the building of the house and a description of its interior.

The Friend (London), 4 mo. 17, 1925, contains an account of the Meeting House of Rook How, in North Lancashire, built in 1725. There are also two illustrations, an interior and an exterior view. Later, in the issue of 6 mo. 19, 1925, there appears a brief account of the celebration of the bicentenary of the building of Rook How Meeting House.

According to *The Friend* (London), 4 mo. 3, 1925, Earlham Hall and estate, Norwich, have recently been purchased by the Norwich City Council. Though for five generations the home of the Gurneys, it was never owned by them; merely rented from 1786 to 1895.

The American Friend, 8 mo. 6, 1925, and *The Friend* (Philadelphia), of the same date, print an article by William C. Allen entitled "The William Penn Country in England." The author mentions Jordans, Chalfont St. Giles, Rickmansworth, Amersham, Stoke Poges and Oxford,—each having some connection with the life of William Penn.

Recent news from the Doukhobors of Canada was printed in the *American Friend* of 7 mo. 16 and 7 mo. 23, 1925. The gradual breakdown of communism and the rise of the "Young Doukhobor Movement" are interesting items in the story.

William C. Dennis, of Washington, D. C., a Friend and a graduate of Earlham College, was sent to South America recently as general legal advisor of General John J. Pershing and General John Morrow, who were named by President Coolidge to work out the Tacna-Arica arbitration between Chile and Peru. Though still a comparatively young man, he has performed much distinguished service in the field of international relations, assisting the government at different times in arbitral adjustments with Venezuela, Mexico and Norway, as well as helping mediate between other governments as in the present case. For a time he was also counselor to the Chinese government.—*American Friend*, 8 mo. 20, 1925.

The American Friend, 5 mo. 21, 1925, and 5 mo. 28, 1925, contains an interesting account by C. B. Galbreath, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, of "Friends in Slavery Days." This deals chiefly with the life of Edwin Coppoc, who, at the age of fifteen, moved from Winona, Ohio, to Springdale, Iowa. During the winter of 1857–58 he be-

came interested in John Brown and his men who were wintering in Springdale on their way from Kansas to Canada. Later he was a member of the band which attacked Harper's Ferry in 10 mo. 1859, and was afterwards hanged as a traitor.

The regular monthly meeting of the American Friends' Service Committee on 3 mo. 26, 1925, was made unusually interesting by the conferring upon Rufus M. Jones of the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology by Marburg University. Before leaving Germany, Hans Gramm had been commissioned by the University to confer the degree. The degree was granted as a recognition of the work done by Dr. Jones in the field of religious history, and in the Friends' relief work in Europe.—*The American Friend*, 4 mo. 9, 1925.

The American Magazine for 7 mo., 1925, contains an interesting account of William A. Hadley of Chicago. After having lost his own sight, he conceived the idea of a Correspondence School for the Blind. This was started in 1920, and now numbers 350 pupils from all over this country and from some foreign countries as well.

As it is wont to be, the latest issue of *The Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London) is filled with important matter. The following items are from vol. 21 (1924):

The leading article is a scholarly study by Dr. Henry J. Cadbury entitled, "George Fox and Sixteenth Century Bibles."—pp. 1–8.

There is a biographical sketch of the well-known American Friend, Murray Shipley (1830–1899).—pp. 20–22.

John Cox, Jr., of New York, contributes interesting data on some early Quaker marriages in America and the difficulties that were encountered because these marriages were not in due legal form.—p. 41.

Abstract of the Will of Thomas Story.—p. 92.

Item concerning Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, of Philadelphia.—p. 94.

A good index completes the volume.

Job and Tacy Hadley, Indiana Friends, went to Cairo, Illinois, late in 1862 to help "contraband" negroes in camp there who had been freed by the Union armies. They established a school and helped the destitute negroes in many ways. Incidents of their work are told in the *Indiana History Bulletin*, 1 (1924): 131 f. One poor negro woman went to the heart of the terrible problem of those days when she said: "Where's Massa Linkum? He's done freed us—what's he gwine to do with us?"

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The "Historical Sketch of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting" in the new *Book of Christian Discipline* (1925) is concise and valuable. The whole book, although tentative and subject to revision, is a very important document in the history of American Quakerism. It breathes a truly progressive spirit and yet remains faithful to the basic testimonies of Quakerism.

In the Seventh Month, 1925, at a conference held at Eisenach, Germany, there was formed the "Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers)." So the post-war Quaker movement in Germany takes form. Indeed they purposely called their action "Formgebung" rather than "Organisation." They consider themselves strictly a society, not a Church, and seek to steer a wide course away from "Kirchentum."

What may not come of this re-birth of dynamic Quakerism? What if a real Quaker revival should shake Germany, and Europe? Surely the air of Eisenach, and the near-by Wartburg, that nurtured Luther's early struggles, might be conducive to another outbreak of spiritual religion.

The following information has been kindly supplied by our fellow-member, Henry W. Scarborough:

The Pennsylvania Genealogical Society has made photostat copies of the second book of records of the Middletown Monthly Meeting of Friends for itself, the Bucks County Historical Society, and the Congressional Library. The said second book of records contains the list of births, deaths and marriages beginning with 1682. It also contains the copies of numerous early removal certificates including those from the British meetings and copies of early marriage certificates, also a list of about three hundred early Friends noted for their piety, etc. Historians will be able to consult the photostat copies at the institutions above mentioned. The Pennsylvania Genealogical Society also has a copy of the first minute book of the Middletown Monthly Meeting, written by Susanna Rich who was at the time custodian for the meeting.

In a recent number of the BULLETIN (vol. 13, p. 109) was mentioned a card index, at Haverford College, of death notices in the *Friends' Intelligencer* and *The Friend*. In this connection, those interested in Quaker history might be reminded of the "Index to the Biographical Sketches Published in *The Friend*, Volumes 27 to 36." This Index was published in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, 3 (1907): 109–134. It contains about six hundred names.

Immediately following it (pp. 135–138) is the transcript of "Inscriptions on the Tombstones in the Free Quakers' Graveyard in Philadelphia."

The Library of Haverford College has acquired a manuscript index to the first edition of *Friends' Miscellany* by John and Isaac Comly, 12 vols. The index was prepared by Norman Penney. It is in booklet form and contains about one thousand entries. Blessed are the indexers.

Later: A similar index to the centennial book of Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, has come to hand,—this also by Doctor Penney. Some readers will recall that one outcome of the deliberations which preceded the centennial celebration in 1904 was the formation of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia. The centennial volume was the first publication sponsored by the Society. Those who have a copy of the book will profit by reading again the penetrating Introduction by Isaac Sharpless, first President of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The following theses in Quaker history were prepared (1924–1925) at the Thomas Wistar Brown Graduate School, of Haverford College, and are now accessible in the College library:

Friends and the Temperance Movement, by Elizabeth M. Marsh.

The Quaker Attitude Toward Amusements, by G. Maurine Pemberton.

A History of Friends' Missionary Work in Mexico, by Emmett W. Gulley.

While these theses make no claim to being exhaustive, they are based largely on a study of original documents and are fresh contributions to the subject.

A little pamphlet of four pages is at hand entitled, "History of Cottonwood Friends Church," by Orilla E. Stanton. Friends settled in that part of Kansas about 1855, and Cottonwood Monthly Meeting was set up 10 mo. 6, 1860. This sketch was read "at the Rededication of the Cottonwood Friends Church, on Sunday, April 5, 1925." It contains some historical data, much religious fervor, and closes with a tribute to the pastoral system.

A phase of American Quaker history is marked, nay, doubly underscored, by the inauguration of a Friend, Alexander C. Purdy, as "Professor in Practical Theology" in Hartford Theological Seminary. His inaugural address, delivered 1 mo. 5, 1925, is entitled "Concerning the Education of Prophets." His first question, "Is it possible to educate prophets?" will be reiterated by Friendly readers. His discussion of the subject is suggestive, powerful, and not un-Friendly in its drift. We forbear to quote George Fox on the subject.

Adams, Massachusetts, is the home of the "Adams Society of Friends' Descendants." It was founded in 1910 on the initiative of Susan A. Radley, after a large meeting had been held in the old Friends' Meeting House at Adams. This meeting was attended by Henry W. Wilbur, of Philadelphia, who brought a stirring, spiritual message.

A copy is at hand of the artistic new book-plate of the "Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London." It reproduces a sketch of the old Reference Library at Devonshire House, dear to many Friends in many lands.

The American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., is the great association of historical scholars and research workers in the United States. It has been publishing *The American Historical Review* since 1895. This is by all odds the most scholarly historical periodical in America. It is indexed annually, and a General Index is published every ten years.

The Association also published five volumes of *Papers*, 1886–1891, and has published its *Annual Report*, in one or more volumes, each year since 1889. A *General Index* of the *Papers* and *Annual Reports*, 1884–1914, was published as Vol. 2 of the *Annual Report* for 1914.

In the indexes mentioned above are some hundreds of entries under Friends, Quakers, Slavery, Indians, Pennsylvania, and the names of other colonies and states where Friends were numerous. These references should not be overlooked by Quaker bibliographers who take their researches seriously.

In connection with Ponsonby's *English Diaries*, reviewed in a recent BULLETIN, the Editor has become interested in the *Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies* of John Rutty, M.D. (1698–1775). Dr. Rutty, a truly good man and genuinely religious, was extremely self-critical and spared not the rod in his own chastisement. Ponsonby has gathered up some of the lashes from the scourge used in this reflexive castigation.

As to eating and drinking: "A little swinish at dinner.—A little piggish in stuffing with vegetables.—A little incubus last night on too much spinage. —Gripes from excess.—Feasted, not innocently, in not refusing the bumper. —A little of the beast in drinking.—The dose of drink precious to the publick meeting was somewhat too large.—Although I dined with the saints I drank rather beyond bounds."

Augustine Jones (1835–1925) died at his home in Newton Highlands, Mass., 9 mo. 10, 1925. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College and of the Harvard Law School, and was Principal of the Friends' School at Providence (now Moses Brown School) from 1879 to 1904. He was an intimate friend of John G. Whittier, and a life-long member of the Society of Friends.

Sarah Gifford (Mrs. Howard) Yarnall died at Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 8 mo. 31, 1925, in her 107th year. She was born at Marshfield, Mass., 4 mo. 23, 1819.

She was a pupil in Friends' Boarding School at Providence in the school year of 1832–1833. In her hundredth year, she supplied valuable data from memory on incidents of her school life.

She was one of the first to make the all-water trip from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Michigan via the Erie Canal. She saw many of the pioneer ocean-going steamships and saw the earliest successful railroads. She lived to see the ocean spanned by the airplane and to listen to radio performances.

In the early thirties she visited a sister's family in Philadelphia and saw the working of the "underground railroad." At the time of her death, she was the oldest living stockholder of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

A pamphlet has been printed (1925) containing the "Minute of Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends with reference to our Friend John Henry Barlow." There is a splendid portrait as a frontispiece, and the first sentence of the Minute is also true portraiture: "Resolute, but cautious, judicial and yet sympathetic, a man of quiet strength and almost stern gravity, and yet with a very tender spirit beneath apparent severity, a man slow to take the initiative, yet vigilant and constant in the discharge of responsibilities laid upon him,—such was John Henry Barlow."

In *The Friend* (London), 3 mo. 27, 1925, is a stirring account of the life of Dr. Mary Darby Sturge (1862–1925). She was a distinguished medical doctor, an ardent and effective temperance advocate, and a devoted Friend whose time and strength were always given lavishly to those in need.

John William Graham, of Woodbrooke, England, is now at Swarthmore College as the first occupant of the Howard M. Jenkins Chair of Quaker History and Research. Readers of the BULLETIN have no doubt seen elsewhere an announcement of the public lectures by Professor Graham, running through the winter, and open freely to those interested.

As has already been announced, the Howard M. Jenkins Chair of Quaker History and Research was founded at Swarthmore last Sixth Month by Charles F. Jenkins and family. John William Graham, who will hold the chair for a year, has travelled extensively in America, studying and preaching, and has written several books on the history of Friends, including *William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, War from the Quaker Point of View,* and *The Faith of a Quaker.* He received his education at University College, London, and at King's College, Cambridge. He taught as Assistant Master in Oliver's Mount School until 1886; he served as Principal of Dalton Hall, University of Manchester, for many years, and recently has been at Woodbrooke, near Birmingham.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Walter H. Jenkins, 140 N. 15. St., Philadelphia.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2, England.

When the price of an English book is given below in terms of American money, it means that one of the American book stores has quoted that price.

Archambault, A. Margaretta (editor). *A Guidebook of Art, Architecture, and Historic Interests in Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. 1924. Pp. 509, cloth. $5.00.

The matter of this book is arranged by counties, one chapter to a county. The book contains much condensed information,—too condensed in some notable cases. There are valuable illustrations, a scanty Table of Contents, and no Index.

Haverfordians will be regaled by the following (p. 259): "Haverford College for boys, founded in 1833 by Society of Orthodox Friends, life is focused inward, neither sight nor sound of the outer world reaches the campus of 225 acres."

Conybeare, Frances Anne. *Dingle Bank, the Home of the Croppers.* Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 1925. Pp. 65, paper. 3 s. 6 d.

This little book is something less than history and something more than genealogy. It is a charming story of James Cropper and his descendants, and their country homes, at "Dingle Bank," near Liverpool.

James Cropper, Senior, was a wealthy merchant and a solid Friend, although his descendants, one after another, left the Society.

The book has more dimension than mere genealogy because it tells of James Cropper's relation to the anti-slavery movement, the settlement of Sierra Leone, the Irish question, and various philanthropic ventures.

There is literary merit also. Non-Friends and non-Croppers will find pleasure in the story that ends with a happy wedding at "Dingle Bank," just "before the curtain falls on the three homes described in our sketch, the closing cadence of a century full of that love and goodwill which to their founder and to his descendants had been indeed the keynote of life."

Godcharles, Frederic A. *Daily Stories of Pennsylvania.* Milton, Penna.: Privately published. 1924. Pp. 958, cloth. $5.00.

Most of these interesting stories were published originally in Pennsylvania newspapers, hence the arrangement as per calendar, and one story for every day in the year.

There is a biographical sketch of Lucretia Mott (pp. 6–8), the story of the captivity among the Indians of Benjamin Gilbert and family (pp. 577–579), and many other items bearing directly or indirectly upon Quaker history.

The book, on account of its arrangement, is hardly meant for consecutive reading or for reference. For occasional excursions it offers many delightful by-paths.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Church's Debt to Heretics.* London: James Clarke and Co., Ltd. [1925.] Pp. 256, cloth. $2.00.

While not primarily Quaker history, this book by Rufus M. Jones cannot be omitted from the columns of the BULLETIN. There are several references to George Fox scattered through the book, and there is a brief sketch of the rise of Quakerism (pp. 245–248).

More important is the background of Quaker history depicted here. This background turns out to be the long line of saintly heretics who "again and again have brought to light neglected or unemphasized truths. They have championed causes which, but for them, would have been 'lost causes.' They have made known the august authority of conscience and the immense value of the individual. They have borne a glorious testimony to the range and height of human daring and sacrifice, and they have given noble witness to the fact that one man with God on his side is unconquerable—if in fact God *is* on his side."—p. 26.

Friends who read books will read this book.

New Appreciations of George Fox. A Tercentenary Collection of Studies. London: Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1925. Pp. 182, cloth. $1.70.

Here are gathered some of the best fruits of the tercentenary year,—articles by T. Edmund Harvey, John William Graham, Edward Grubb, J. St. Loe Strachey, Rufus M. Jones, Elbert Russell, and others whose writings count. The Foreword is by Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

Cautious appraisal, generous encouragement, fulsome praise,—all of these have come *ad libitum* to Friends in recent months. The garnering and sifting that have resulted in this book were worth while, and happily some forthright criticism of Friends came through the mesh. Many readers will be invigorated by the antidote.

The Catholic Times (p. 170 f.) avers that in spite of the Quaker claim of re-discovering vital, spiritual religion, the Society has not given to the world anything approaching the *Imitation of Christ,* or St. Augustine's *Con-*

fessions, or St. Theresa's *Autobiography*. "The Mary of contemplation appears to have developed into the bustling Martha of philanthropic activities. It would seem that the Inner Light tends to grow dim when divorced from the Sacraments of the Church. If the cultivation of the deeper life of the soul had been left to those who deny to it the sacred Food on which it is nourished, where should we be now?"

Again, quoting from *The Tablet*, the editors print the following (p. 177): "While we join heartily in praising the philanthropic activities of George Fox's religious descendants, we cannot shut our eyes to the defects of the Society. If all Christendom turned Quaker, Christianity would soon be diluted into mere 'social service,' which is a vital part of true religion, but certainly not the whole of it. Modern Quakerism . . . is like ivy: it requires the stout walls of historic Christianity for support, and its life would be a short one if it were cut loose."

Penney, Norman, LL.D. (editor). *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*. Published by Cambridge University Press (England) for Friends' Historical Association (Philadelphia). New York: Macmillan. 1925. Pp. 403, cloth. $3.00.

It was a very happy idea on the part of Friends' Historical Association (Philadelphia) to celebrate the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of George Fox's birth by the publication of these important first-hand documents of his life and travels. It has involved a large amount of editorial labor and work of copying and a heavy expense in money, but it will stand through the future as perhaps the most fitting monument that could have been placed to his memory in the tercentenary year.

It should first of all be said that the editorial work by Norman Penney has been excellently done. His Notes and Index cover 128 pages of the book. The Notes deal with every individual mentioned in the text and with all important places and circumstances which come before the reader. Many of the Notes have entailed extensive research and yet they are given with brevity and conciseness. This contribution by Norman Penney, together with his work on the Cambridge edition of the Journal, has put all students of Fox's life under a very deep debt of gratitude to him.

The Introduction has been written by T. Edmund Harvey who also wrote that to the Cambridge edition of the Journal and, though quite brief, it very well introduces the reader to the succeeding documents.

The first impression on the general reader will perhaps be one of disappointment. Few readers *enjoy* documents reproduced verbatim. They are disturbed by the *facsimile* spelling and the lack of grammatical construction. They are put off by the use of *ye* for the, *yt* for that and *ym* for them. Artemus Ward humorously expressed the general feeling when he said that Chaucer would have been a good writer if only he had known how to spell! There will be some, too, particularly those who rather superficially look over

the pages of the publication without much careful attention to its deeper side, who will feel that they do not get here much light on the spiritual development and the religious message of George Fox. We do miss in these publications, and also in the Cambridge Journal, the remarkable story of the early religious crisis which is the most living section of the *Journal* as we know it. And furthermore, these new documents are not for the most part occupied with the unfolding of Fox's inner experience or with the interpretation of his religious discoveries. These documents are *objective*. They tell us where he went, what he did, what he suffered and what the *effects* of his travels were in the towns and hamlets.

But if that is the superficial impression, it will not be the conclusion of serious and painstaking readers. This new material takes us closer to Fox the man, and it distinctly helps us to know and to estimate him. Incidentally, it is very interesting to have fresh light here on the way the *Journal* got written. The *Short Journal* is the first attempt to tell the story of the propagation of what Fox loves to call *the truth* and how the world reacted to it. It is a story of appalling brutality but also of amazing conquest over the hearts and lives of those who became "Children of the Light." One vivid sentence suggests both sides of the story: "All ye bad spirits rose against truth, but ye truth is yt wch answers ye witnesse of God in all."

Again and again we read "the truth was over all," or "ye truth had its passage." Note sentences like the following: "The greatest part of a thousand were convinced that day"; "ye graves were opened and ye dead heard ye voyce of God"; "We had a meetting about thre thousand people and all quiet."

This "Short Journal" was written in Lancaster Prison during the years 1663-64. Then in the long period of imprisonment in Worcester during the years 1673-75 the "Great Journal" was begun, and brought into its final form at Swarthmore Hall from 1675 to 1677. The "Itinerary Journal," here first published, is a swift travel diary of movements, persons, places, lodgings, meetings, happenings, sermons, books and papers, from the year 1681 onwards. It is made up of scrappy jottings of a busy man's daily doing. There is little juice and much dry information. Thomas Elwood used it extensively when he was building the latter part of what we now call *the Journal*—the part after "the Great Journal" comes to an end. And finally we have in the new collection the valuable Travel Diary written by Edward Haistwell, covering movements and events in 1677-78, the period of travel on the continent of Europe. All these documents underlie Elwood's great vital book—*The Journal of George Fox*—somewhat as documents of "sayings" and "events," written by eye-witnesses, underlie our present Gospels, and as primitive narratives underlie the early biographies of Francis of Assisi.

I shall deal, and that very briefly, with only one of these documents—"the Short Journal." It is a powerful, vivid, vital, revealing, human document. It is swift and full of movement, like a cinema-film. We sweep

across England, Wales and Scotland, with flash-pictures of travel, sermons, convincements, mobs, prisons, courts, justices, inns, steeple-houses, hostile priests, hot debates, assaults, brutalities, deliverances, victories and truth triumphing "over all." The writer is plainly at a less mature stage than in the Cambridge Journal. He has less perspective and at the same time more *élan* and enthusiasm. It makes one feel the onset and swirl of opposition to Fox more vividly than the Journal does. Some of the pictures are burned into the reader's memory. See how striking this scene is: "The constables took mee and gave mee a wisk over the shoulders with their willow rods, and thrust mee amongst an abundance of rude people, which fell upon mee with their hedg stakes and battes and staves, and struck mee as hard as ever they could stricke, my head, my armes, my back, and it was a great while before they beat mee down upon the wett common which was a great while before I fell and there I lay a pretty space upon the wett, beat and bruised, and then the power of ye lord went thorow mee and refreshed mee and healed mee and strengthened mee and I was moved to stand up in ye mighty power of ye lord God among all ye rude multitude."

There are many passages that are new and give us additional light. Fox is less organized in mind and thought, more free, daring and adventurous than in the *Journal* and he uses phrases that sound more "dangerous" to modern ears. He toned himself down with age and then Elwood toned him down still more. Here we are closer to the palpitating man as he lived and spoke.

Many of these fresh early descriptions of preaching scenes make Fox's message of the Light unusually clear and vivid. I think I see what he meant by it more clearly than I ever have seen in his other writings and there is no question that it came like the living word of God to hosts of persons who were hungering and thirsting for vitality in religion. We have now in print all the basic documents for understanding and evaluating George Fox and the closer we get to his real life the larger, truer, more rugged and more vital he appears.

RUFUS M. JONES.

Rees, T. Mardy. *A History of the Quakers in Wales and their Emigration to North America.* Carmarthen, Wales: W. Spurrell and Son. 1925. Pp. 294, cloth.

Friends and others who are of Cambrian birth or descent will be glad to possess themselves of the compendium of facts and figures drawn from many sources and printed in this volume which won the prize at the Mold National Eisteddfod in 1923, offered by a Friend, John Henry Lloyd, of Birmingham, for a book on Friends in Wales.

The counties of the Principality are taken seriatim and descriptions are given of the sufferings of Friends, their meeting houses and burial places, and also the emigrants to the New World. There are chapters on Welsh

Quaker literature, Society organization and industries, and a conclusion that attempts to answer the question: "Why did Quakerism decline in Wales?" The lists of emigrants are taken, principally, from Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania.*

Section V deals with the settlement of the Welsh Tract,—Merion, Radnor, Haverford and Gwynedd. The book is much more than a list of names, for there are numerous brief sketches of the lives of Friends. Some of them, in the old country, are: John ap John, of Pen-y-cefn; Elisha Beadles, of Pontypool; Richard Davies, of Welshpool; Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran; Bevan, of Swansea; Price, of Neath; Starbuck, of Milford Haven; Dorothy Owen, of Tyddynygarreg. Of those in the New World are: Ellis Pugh (1656–1718), Rowland Ellis (1650–1731), William Penn, Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, Moses Roberts, of Catawissa, Rebecca Jones, of Philadelphia, Eli K. Price, and many another. There are also accounts of Friends from elsewhere, travelling in Wales: George Fox, Thomas and Elizabeth Holme, John Griffith, Catharine Phillips, William Brown (of Philadelphia), Richard Fry, and others.

It is much to be regretted that more care was not exercised in the printing of this valuable work. A list of Errata is given, but it might be considerably enlarged. On page 143 John Whitehead should be John Whitehouse, as it is on the following page; page 184, Lelgh should be Lehigh; page 234, Sparrold should be Spavold; page 96, Roseth should be Routh. The index contains some curious headings, *e.g.*, "As Truthful as a Quaker," "Din to drown a voice," "Size of Chester County, Pa."

Here is one of the anecdotes in the book: "We read of one in the neighborhood of Meifod who would annoy a Friend engaged in ploughing. 'God be your help,' said the passer-by. 'Why didst thou take the name of God in vain?' asked the Friend. 'Why didst thou not say *very good work*, or make some other observation if thou must needs speak at all?' The rustic passed on, but on his return later he noticed that the Friend's wooden plough had been broken through contact with a big hidden stone. Laughing at the unfortunate ploughman, he said, 'Very good work'" (page 137).

NORMAN PENNEY.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Taylor, Francis R. *Life of William Savery, of Philadelphia, 1750–1804.* New York: Macmillan. 1925. Pp. 474, cloth. $3.00.

This book is a fine example of what may well be called the new type of Quaker biography,—one of the first fruits of the pioneer work in Quaker history and literature done by the late President Isaac Sharpless. It is in curious contrast with what the author calls "the quavering, tearful journals of Job Scott and Thomas Scattergood,"—those inner personal histories in which so many Friends of the past have recorded little else beside their own impressions, reflections, and states of mind, apparently almost unconscious of the seething and throbbing life of the world about them. No reader

will fall asleep while reading the story of William Savery's experiences in Ireland during the great Rebellion of 1798, or in France in the time of the Revolution.

William Savery was born in Philadelphia in 1750, not long before the fateful year of Braddock's defeat, which was followed in 1756 by the general resignation by Friends of their seats in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, when the "Holy Experiment" of government on Quaker principles came to an end. From that year, says the author, "American Quakerism bred its leaders, if the paradox is permissible, to the ministry and the ministry alone. . . . The powerful men of this Federal period, if it may be so termed, knew their Bibles and read little else, except the approved writings of Friends."

Under such influences in youth, followed by the American Revolution with its practical ostracism of Friends and the actual exile of a number of their leaders, it is remarkable that William Savery should have taken part in public life at all. In Indian affairs, however, the traditional influence of Friends was still deservedly strong; and when in 1793 the bloody Indian wars made imperatively necessary some effort at peaceful agreement, a council of the Six Nations at Buffalo sent an appeal to President Washington to send representatives to meet the Indians and make a treaty with them, saying:

"Now we desire you, brothers, to send forward agents who are men of honesty, not proud land-jobbers, but men who love and desire peace. Also, we desire they may be accompanied by some Friend or Quaker to attend the council."

Early in the year 1793,—a year of terror in America as well as France,—word came to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia that a Treaty was to be held the following fall at Sandusky, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and a letter anxiously desiring Friends to attend the Treaty, and in confirmation sending three strings of white wampum. Six Friends, John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore, and William Hartshorne, volunteered to go, and set out for Sandusky and Detroit on May 3d.

The story of the journey through the wilderness to Detroit, the efforts of the Friends to aid in bringing about a treaty, their failure, and William Savery's return to Philadelphia in the autumn, seriously ill, to find the city in the dread grip of yellow fever, is more thrilling than fiction. At "Wyck," the ancient home of his friend Caspar Haines (still standing in Germantown), he met his wife, who had fled from the city and taken refuge there. His own illness probably prevented him from taking an active part in the heroic work of Friends during those terrible weeks. By the middle of November the scourge was over, and normal life was gradually resumed.

The next year, 1794, another Indian council was held at Canandaigua, New York, which William Savery and three other Friends attended. This time, happily, their efforts were successful. "When Pickering" (the United

States commissioner) "then held aloft two parchments, whereon the Treaty was inscribed, the Indians were ready to proceed. He handed one copy to William Savery to examine while he read the other. William Savery then informed the Indians that both were identical, whereupon about fifty chiefs and warriors signed the momentous documents."

With the negotiation of the treaty of 1794 the public life and work of William Savery in America practically came to an end. The next year he applied to the North Meeting for a certificate liberating him for service in "Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe," and in 5 mo., 1796, he sailed from New Castle for England, in company with Samuel Emlen, Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young, Sarah Talbot, and Phebe Speakman. About one hundred and forty Friends accompanied them from Philadelphia to New Castle, and a farewell meeting was held in the court-room, the court adjourning and the judge with many of the lawyers attending. The voyage took just a month, and William Savery's gift of graphic description is shown in his accounts of meeting the fishing-boats off Newfoundland, of encountering a great iceberg, a French privateer, and ten English slave-ships bound for Africa. Soon after landing in England he sailed for Bremen, in company with George and Sarah Dillwyn, David Sands, William Farrer, and Benjamin Johnson. He traveled in Germany until December, then in Holland and France until 5 mo., 1797, then in Ireland and England until 9 mo., 1798, when he returned to America. His later life was uneventful, and occupies only a few pages. He died in Philadelphia, 6 mo. 10, 1804.

Although he spent in Europe only about two and a half years, the larger part of the book is taken up with the account of his work there. He traveled in England, Holland, Germany, France, and Ireland, usually with one or more companions. Though the avowed purpose of his journeys was "religious labor," he was so observant a traveler and so minute a chronicler that his Journal, with the admirable editing of his biographer, becomes a fascinating series of pictures of life in those countries at that momentous period of history. Before us almost as on a screen we see the England and Germany of 1796, the France of the Revolution and the Directory, and the Ireland of the Rebellion of 1798, with its battles, mobs, and massacres, through all of which the non-combatant Quakers passed almost unscathed, winning in large degree the respect and good-will of both parties. It would be hard to name a more interesting or valuable book of travel and history.

William Savery's remarkable powers of keen observation and graphic description give this book a historical value like that of the journals of Pepys and Evelyn and John Quincy Adams, and a charm like that of Harriet Martineau's *Travels in America*. Almost every page gives a picture of the life of the country and the time. In Germany, for example, at that time every burial called for a stipend to the local priest.

"A Friend at Minden, not feeling free to bury his wife in the local graveyard, interred her in his garden, whereupon the local priest collected six dollars as his due. Still more drastic was the action taken with a child of

Christopher Reckefus. It had been interred in his garden for six months, when the priest exhumed the body, buried it in the public grave-yard, and promptly collected his charge."

At Paris William Savery and David Sands met Tom Paine in a coffee-house. William Savery told the story to his friend Sarah Rawes, who wrote the following account:

"He was sitting alone with his bottle of brandy before him, (which the man at the hotel informed the Friends he usually finished before night). He drank it out of a glass, unmixed. As W. S. wished to lose no time in coming to the point they had in view, he began by telling him, 'I knew thee, Thomas, when thee lived a few doors from my father, when thee wrote the book entitled Common Sense, and if thee hadst left off there, perhaps thee mightest have been set down as a man of understanding, but since—' 'Ah,' said he, 'I see you have been reading *that Book*. My writings have spread much farther than that—(part illegible). You need not tell me of your principles, for I know them well. I remember my good mother used to give me a great deal of advice, and I believe she meant well.'

"They told him the Society did not thank him for the compliments he had paid them in his book, but had much rather he had omitted them. Wm. told us that they felt as if standing in the place of the Society or for Friends, and they did not feel disposed to give way, as he would soon triumph over them. . . .

"Thos. Paine put out foolish questions, merely to confuse and perplex and to draw into a labyrinth, as, 'How many acres of land do you suppose that man and his wife had to cultivate in the Garden of Eden?' and 'When and where were they driven, when they were turned out of the Garden?' They asked him if he believed that man *was* created? 'Yes,' he said, 'how could any thing create itself?'"

Here is a picture of the life of Friends in Ireland in 1798:

"One (Friend) whose name was Gatchell, having departed from the testimony of truth and associated with others to oppose the insurgents, so called, was, with all the party, about twenty, killed. A son of J. Woodcock was shot at behind his master J. Pim's counter, and badly wounded. . . . The Quarterly Meeting was held at Enniscorthy next day, but one, after the great slaughter & burning of that town. Friends had to remove the dead bodies out of the way of the carriage wheels."

Traveling among the farms of Cumberland, William Savery writes:

"They keep fine cows, who give from 10 to 20 quarts of milk a day apiece. Milk is brought to market in things like our churns on each side of a horse, with a brass cock at bottom, very handy. Their cheese is but small, like Pennsylvania farmers'."

The well-known episode of William Savery's meeting with Elizabeth Gurney (afterward Elizabeth Fry) is thus mentioned by him:

"Several gay girls, daughters of John Gurney, and their father with them, gave us their company, and I rode with Elizabeth to Meeting."

Elizabeth's sister Richenda in her diary adds:

"Betsey was generally rather restless at meeting, and on this day I remember her very smart boots were a great amusement to me; they were

purple, laced with scarlet. At last William Savery began to preach. His voice and manner were arresting, and we all liked the sound. Her attention became fixed, at last I saw her begin to weep, and she became a great deal agitated. As soon as meeting was over, I have a remembrance of her making her way to the men's side of the meeting, and having found my father, she begged him if she might dine with William Savery at the Grove."

The author adds an interesting side-light in the comment of a young Roman Catholic priest, John Pitchford, who had been invited by Joseph Gurney into the ministers' gallery. He wrote:

"The name of the speaker was Savery, and his sermon the best I have ever heard among the Quakers, so full of candour and liberality. My only objection to it was its excessive length,—two hours and a half."

One of the most interesting episodes was William Savery's reception at Buckingham Palace by King George III. and Queen Charlotte. The king asked him "about the situation of things between France and America," to which he prudently replied that "I seldom meddled at all with politics, as it was not my business." The meeting was evidently gratifying to all concerned, for when William Savery told the Queen that he was delighted with her children and their becoming appearance, she instantly said to the princesses, "Do you hear what Mr. Savery says of you?" In his journal he adds:

"After much free conversation, I could scarcely take leave of them without tears. Benjamin West made a motion; the king and queen with the children drew a little back, and with gestures of respect bid us a 'good evening.' I said a few words at parting; George Dillwyn also said a little. After we retired, Benjamin West staying a little, heard the king say to the queen, 'Charlotte, how satisfactory this has been.'"

From such a book the temptation to quote is hard to resist. Our debt to the author is great, not only for his selection of the best from what must have been a great mass of matter, but also for his illuminating additions from contemporary history, giving the best possible background for a charming picture of William Savery and the times in which he lived.

HENRY FERRIS.

Edward Grubb's *Authority in Religion* (Macmillan, 1924) is the ripened thought of one whose thinking about the modern problems of religion has been clear and deep. While not primarily Quaker history, the book (p. 91 f.) assays the Friendly contribution to spiritual religion, and concludes that the Society lost its initial momentum because it attempted "to make the Spirit into an infallible *outward* authority." The failure of Friends was "the outcome of the dualism that led them to the disparagement of human reason, as if it were necessarily an obstacle to the Spirit's work." The consequent suppression of the "outward" led to the quietism of the 18th century.

The Swedish Colonial Society, of Philadelphia, has brought out (1925) an English translation, by Amandus Johnson, of the *Geographia Americæ, with An Account of the Delaware Indians,* by Peter Lindeström.

The original manuscript was based upon surveys and notes made, 1654–1656, by the young Swedish adventurer who spent those years in New Sweden, on the Delaware.

Here is a stout volume of 418 pages (price $8.00) filled with original data, including early maps, on the Swedish prelude to Pennsylvania history. The biographical sketch of Lindeström, the copious foot-notes, and the appendix of Indian Geographical Names, with their meanings, by the scholarly and indefatigable editor, are a mine of information.

This is the fourth work by Dr. Johnson bearing upon New Sweden.

A book is announced for this Autumn by Frances C. Sparhawk entitled, *Whittier at Close Range.* As the daughter of Whittier's friend and physician, Miss Sparhawk knew the poet well. She writes to the BULLETIN that her purpose in the book is not to give additional facts about Whittier's anti-slavery work, nor extended comments upon his poems, but chiefly, "To give intimate glimpses of his life and character. . . . So this book gives more touches of daily living, of home life than of his life among notables."

Miss Sparhawk is the author of a considerable list of books. Admirers of Whittier will await with interest her new venture. The price of the book is $2.00 for a single copy, or $1.20 each for ten or more copies. Orders should be sent to the author, 12 Kent St., Brookline, Mass.

PROPOSED CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION.

At a stated meeting of the Directors of Friends' Historical Association held Tenth Month 15, 1925, it was voted to recommend to the members that Article III of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the following paragraph:

> Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

This is the formal notice required by the Constitution for a proposed change, and the amendment will be voted on at the next meeting of the Association.

The editor wishes to acknowledge the efficient help of Elizabeth B. Jones and Susan J. Dewees in the preparation of this number of the BULLETIN.

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